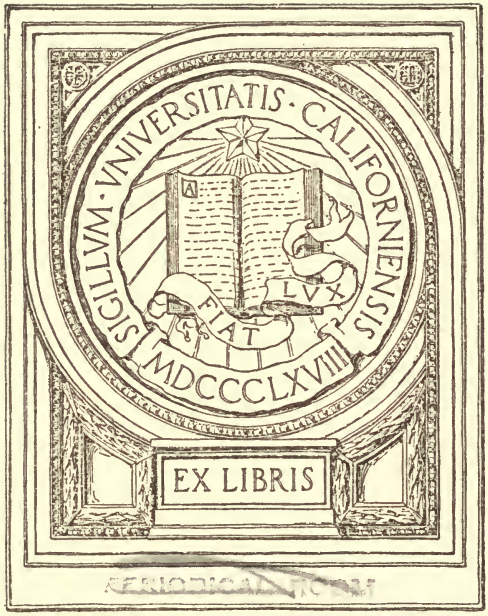
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THE CHICAGO

COPPERHEAD CONVENTION.

(August 29, 1864)

THE

TREASONABLE AND REVOLUTIONARY UTTERANCES

OF THE MEN WHO COMPOSED IT.

Extracts from all the Notable Speeches delivered in and out of the National "Democratic" Convention.

A SURRENDER TO THE REBELS ADVOCATED—A DISGRACEFUL AND PUSILLANIMOUS PEACE DEMANDED—THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHAMEFULLY VILLIFIED, AND NOT A WORD SAID AGAINST THE CRIME OF TREASON AND REBELLION.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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THE CHICAGO COPPERHEAD CONVENTION

THIS pamphlet contains the spirit of the Chicago "Democratic" Convention. If it contains no statements that if the proposed "Armistice and National Convention" expedients should fail, the Democratic party would put down the rebellion, it is because, from first to last, no such statements were made. They would have been firebrands in the camp, and if uttered in the Convention, would have exploded the "Democracy" into two conflicting factions. They uttered no word of approval of Abraham Lincoln, or disapproval of Jefferson Davis. The blood and crimes, the hardships and deprivations, the infringements on personal liberty which we all endure, were not, during the entire sitting of the Convention, once charged to the rebellion or its leaders, but were by every speaker charged wholly, fiercely and relentlessly to the President of the United States, his officers and armies. Had the Convention been held in Richmond, Virginia, not a word need have been expunged.

Further, the general spirit and tone of the Convention, so far from looking to a suppression of the present rebellion, was in favor of a new rebellion against the Government in the imagined contingency of "interference with the freedom of the ballot," at the coming election. Very few of the speakers closed without an exhortation to prepare for a fight this fall. As nothing had occurred to indicate such an interference, and as it is in the power of those who met in this Convention to compel the Government to put forth its armed force, by themselves inciting disturbance, it is to be presumed, that as in the case of the rebel prophecies of disunion four years ago, so now, what these prophets so unanimously foresee they have determined to bring to pass. Such a rebellion would reunite them for the time in aim and purpose with their ancient party allies, Jefferson Davis and the Southern rebels. It would remove the seat of war from Atlanta, Mobile, and Richmond, to Chicago,

New York, and Boston. It would set the people of the Northern States to cutting each other's throats, to send August Belmont's Confederate stock up to par, and to establish the independence of the Rebellion.

Such was the tone and spirit of this so-called "Peace Convention." Vallandigham, the forerunner in the crime of Northern Rebellion, was the demi-god of the occasion. It was the tone and spirit of the New York anti-draft riots, where there was prodigious cheering for McClellan—so here—and from the same class, imported in large numbers for the occasion. They were not the peaceful citizens of this nation—not the class from which a genuine cry for peace could ever come. They were for peace with the rebels only because they were for the rebels, for the slavery in behalf of which they rebelled, for the secessionism of Calhoun which led them into the rebellion, and for that gilded sham of this day—the name Democracy, which has thus far helped the rebellion on its way. Sympathizing thus with the rebels, they demanded peace as a service to their friends—peace with the country's enemies, and war against its defenders. In one breath they chaunted the evils of our present war, and in the next threatened a new rebellion. One moment they talked dolorously of the wounded and dying, and the next, threatened a free fight against us in our own streets, which would fill every American heart with shame and dye every American threshold with blood. They have done the rebels a good service. Had they met, and on behalf of the Democracy of the North authoritatively informed the country that the seceders must submit to the Government or be crushed, the rebels would have been more discouraged and their return to the Union more hastened, than by the most sanguinary defeat on the battle-field. As it is, the emissaries of the rebellion in Canada telegraph, "*Platform and Vice-President satisfactory*—SPEECHES VERY SATISFACTORY."

Republicans and Democrats who are not yet willing to surrender the Union, or to bring about another rebellion at the North

to complicate a thousand fold the settlement of our present difficulties, are these men whose speeches are so *very satisfactory* to the rebels, worthy to be intrusted with the destinies of the country?

That there might be no dispute about the correctness of the extracts of speeches in the following pages, they were all copied from the columns of the Chicago *Times*, except a few passages taken from the Chicago *Tribune's* reports, which are credited to it.

The Chicago *Times*, of Aug. 25th, stated the object of those attending the Convention to be, to make it

> The occasion of a demonstration of democratic power and earnestness which will strike terror to the hearts of our enemies.

We also learn from the same paper that

> The most distinguished Democrats of the nation will address the people, and open the campaign in the Democratic city of the West.

DR. N. S. DAVIS'S SPEECH

Dr. N. S. Davis, of Chicago, delegate for the State at large of Illinois, delivered one of the most moderate addresses made during the gathering and session of the Convention, before the Invincible Club, Friday evening, Aug. 26th. He began by denying that slavery had caused the war, and attributed it to the pride, self-righteousness and Pharisaism of the Christian churches of the North. These, he said, had

> Corrupted the pure religion of the heart and substituted for it a bigoted fanaticism that stands ready to wrap itself in the mantle of self-righteousness and arrogantly exclaim to all who do not obey its dictates, "I am holier than thou." [Much applause].

In this view Dr. Davis agrees with every rebel in the South. He further said:

> Fellow-citizens, from the commencement of this conflict I have, for one, entirely eschewed this word loyal as having no place in the vocabulary of a republican people. [Continued applause.] * * * * *
>
> There is one sense, and only one, in which the word has any legitimate place whatever among a republican people. It is the last and most insignificant definition that is given to it by that old lexicographer, Noah Webster, which is, "obedience to law; faithfulness to law.'.

In that meaning of the term it may be used by a republican people. But, if you attach that meaning to the term, who are the loyal party? With that meaning to it, of the American people who are those who have been faithful to the Constitution and to the laws of the Republic? Who and what party, in spirit, in temper, and in acts, have trampled, not only the law of the land, but the Constitution itself, under their feet? Who are the men that have thus trampled law and the Constitution under their feet? Are they in the Democratic party? Are they in the great conservative portion of the American people?

Dr. Davis seemed to have forgotten the fact that the Democratic party carried every Democratic State in the Union into the rebellion, or else he is not aware that to secede from the Union and make war upon it with half a million of men, as the Democrats of the South have done, is unconstitutional. With these facts before his mind he could hardly ask the question, "Who are the men that have thus trampled law and the Constitution under their feet? Are they in the Democratic party?

VALLANDIGHAM'S FIRST SPEECH

The Chicago *Times*, of Aug. 27th, in its prelude to Vallandigham's speech, alluding to the crowd gathered in the Court House Square, says:

No wonder, then, that thousands of people were anxious, in the midst of the great crisis that is now passing, to hear the sound truths and immaculate teachings of the old Democracy.

Vallandigham said:

There are two principal forms of government in the world. Governments founded on the idea of coercion, and governments founded on consent. The Declaration of Independence to which we owe our national existence—the charter in which is laid down the principles on which our Government is founded—declares that all just governments rest on the consent of the governed. Other governments, in other ages and in other countries, have been founded on the idea of coercion, and look to bayonets, cannon, the sword, to enforce the edicts of the rulers as against the people, to maintain themselves against the wishes and sentiments of the people who are called their subjects. Governments founded on consent, on the other hand, rely on the instrumentalities of freedom, free speech, free press, free assemblages of the people, a free ballot-box under which executive officers and legislators are elected to make laws and execute the laws so made, and those only.

Such governments repudiate the idea of coercion and arms, relying only on the coercion of law and of public opinion. This is the only coercion rightfully to be exercised in a government founded like ours on the consent of the governed.

Vallandigham here propounds the Fourierite and Utopian

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idea of a government based on moral suasion without the use of force. Because our Government is founded on the consent of the governed, he infers that it must govern only with the consent of the disobedient. But while our written constitutions and our universal suffrage and free elections attest that our Government derives all its powers from the consent of the governed, our penal laws, criminal courts, jails, penitentiaries, prisons and gallows equally show that one of the very powers which the Government derives from the consent of the governed, is the power to coerce the disobedient and rebellious.

WENTWORTH'S REPLY TO VALLANDIGHAM

Hon. John Wentworth, widely known as an olden-time Democrat of the days of Jackson, now a supporter of the Administration, at the close of Vallandigham's speech, addressed the following triumphant refutation of his heresies to the same audience. We quote from the *Tribune* report:

> But Vallandigham told you that the Government could never be held together by coercive force, that power brought to apply on the unruly could never reduce them to obedience. Was there ever a greater heresy uttered by the mouth of man? No coercion! Why, gentlemen, the coercive power of Government is the only safety and salvation of society. No government, no community can exist an hour, without it. It was the weakness of the Articles of the Old Confederation that they conferred no coercive power, and the statesmen of that day saw the pressing necessity of the new Constitution. Take to-day from muncipal and governmental organization the power of coercion, and society goes at once into anarchy and chaos. The weak would become the immediate prey of the strong, and might would indeed become right. I have been told that there are those who would disturb the quiet of the gathering in this city. We, the authorities of the city, coerce them into respect for law. Surely you would not denounce coercion. That glorious old war-horse of Democracy, General Jackson, from whose lips I inhaled the pure inspiration of Democracy, and at whose feet I received the first lessons of political and governmental duty, was gloriously free from this modern heresy. His celebrated proclamation against the nullifiers, in which "coercion" gleamed and glistened in every line, will give him a name and an immortality in history, when the maligners and denunciators of his policy shall have been forgotten. I therefore stand for General Jackson and against Vallandigham. Will you stand for Vallandigham and against General Jackson?

Compare Vallandigham's language with Art. 1, Sec. 8, of the Constitution of the United States, authorizing the Government "to raise and support armies, and "to provide for calling forth the

militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." Would he suppress a rebellion by an opinion?

Vallandigham continues:

Much more is this true of a federative system. States leagued and united together to make one common government made by independent sovereignities who have delegated certain portions of their power to their common agent for the purpose of their common good. For three fourths of a century such a Government existed in the United States, and still survives on parchment, but not in reality. Three years ago a party whose distinctive motto was free speech, a free press, and free men, obtained power in this land. Soon after a civil war broke out, and they began immediately to depart from the idea of a coercion of opinion or coercion of law, and resorted to a coercion of force; first, as against States, contrary to the very idea upon which our Federal Union was founded, and in derogation of the fundamental principles of all free government. Next—and naturally as a legitimate consequence of the first violation—those who obtained power through your suffrages began the coercion of force against those who still adhered to the Government and recognized them as agents of it.

Vallandigham here says the war broke out after Mr. Lincoln obtained power. Compare with this the following statement from the Southern history of the war, written by Pollard, editor of the Richmond *Examiner*, a good "Democratic" authority:

On the incoming of the Administration of Abraham Lincoln on the 4th of March, the rival Government of the South had perfected its organization; Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney had been captured by the South Carolina troops; Fort Pulaski, the defense of Savannah, had been taken; the arsenal at Mount Vernon, Alabama, with 20,000 stand of arms, had been seized by the Alabama troops; Fort Morgan, in Mobile Bay, had been taken; Forts Jackson, St. Philip, and Pike, New Orleans, had been captured by the Louisiana troops; the Pensacola navy-yard and Forts Barrancas and McRea had been taken, and the siege of Fort Pickens commenced; the Baton Rouge Arsenal had been surrendered to the Louisiana troops; the New Orleans Mint and custom-house had been taken; the Little Rock Arsenal had been seized by the Arkansas troops; and on the 16th of February, General Twiggs had transferred the public property in Texas to the State authorities.

Vallandigham asks:

What was the condition of the country in the beginning of his (Lincoln's) Administration? Contrast it with the condition of things now. Then we had peace, now cruel war; then Union with all its blessings, now disunion with all its horrors; then the Constitution maintained which our fathers pronounced, and we in our day and generation, too, as the consummation of human wisdom; that Constitution now lies prostrate under the heels of despotic power.

Yes, "What was the condition of the country" when committed to the Administration of Mr. Lincoln? It was rent in twain by the party to which Vallandigham belongs.

Mr. Lincoln found two governments in full blast; Buchanan at the head of one and Davis at the head of the other. He found two Constitutions in force, the Federal and Confederate. He found eight States fully seceded, three more almost out, and two more preparing to follow the eleven elopers He found half the territory of the United States in the hands of the Confederates, with their Capital established at Montgomery. He found this insurgent Government busy organizing an army and a navy, building forts, drilling troops, and collecting taxes. He found the armories and arsenals of the Federal Government plundered of their contents, and the Treasury robbed of its last dollar. When Mr. Lincoln took the oath of office, the "Democratic party" had scuttled and plundered the ship of State. The Union was dissolved as far as it was in the power of that party to dissolve it. When he entered the White House he found awaiting him three plenipotentiaries from Jeff. Davis to negotiate a commercial treaty in behalf of the "Southern Confederacy!" They did not deign to ask for recognition of rebel independence. They considered that already settled. Such was the *Union* work of this "glorious Democratic" party; and now the leaders of the Northern wing ask to be restored to power, in order that they may complete their scheme of disunion by establishing a Northwestern Confederacy on the ruins of the old Union.

Vallandigham, with sublime impudence, actually arraigns the President for not having, against this most active resistance, restore the Union:

> I speak freely of the President as one who asks me for my vote. I tell him no, you have not discharged the duty for which you were elected. You have not so administered the Government as to advance its prosperity. You have not, as you promised us, restored the Union of these States, preserved the Constitution given into your hands for keeping. Whose fault is it?

It is the fault of James Buchanan and the "Democratic party" who during the first five months of the rebellion assisted it by every means in their power, stripping the North of 120,000 stand of arms

to send to the rebels, and denying that the Government had any right but to submit to be coerced by rebels into its own dissolution and destruction.

Vallandigham wants the war stopped:

> If you would have peace, abandon that idea of coercion, come back again to compromise and conciliation; instead of war let us have reason, argument, deliberation; let us have the assemblage of a convention of the States to consider this great question. Instead of the experiment of war let us have the experiment of peace. From military appliances, let us look to the arts of peace, and the acquirements of statesmanship. Through these alone will you reach the highway of public prosperity.

How is peace to be secured except by conquering the rebellion? Before a convention there must be an armistice. But Vallandigham did not inform his audience how the armistice is to be brought about, nor how a convention is to be legally constituted without the concurrence of the States in rebellion. Does he propose to withdraw all our forces from the field now that, after a hard and exhausting campaign, they stand on the very margin of final success? Does he propose that we shall abandon Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Northern Arkansas, Louisiana, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware? Must we surrender back to the hands of the very men from whose bloody gripe they have just been rescued, Vicksburg, Port Hudson, Port Royal, Norfolk, Fortress Monroe, Forts St. Philip, Morgan, Gaines, Roanoke, Donelson, Island No. 10, Memphis, St. Louis, Louisville, Wheeling, New Orleans, Baltimore, Nashville, Atlanta, and Washington—in short, all places and territory south of Mason and Dixon's line? Must our fleets be withdrawn and the blockade raised in order that the rebels may sell their cotton and prepare themselves for a renewal of the war?

Must Sherman retrace the five hundred miles of his advance, and thus admit that a campaign as arduous and brilliant as any on record has been after all but a fool's errand? Must Grant, after losing fifty thousand men in winning his hold of Richmond, send his noble soldiers back to Washington, in order to have it all to do over again in the course of a few months? Yet this is what an

armistice implies; this is what the rebel writers with one accord demand; this is what their authorities make the single condition. Jeff. Davis declared, in the most emphatic manner, to Colonel Jacques, that he would not consent to negotiate until the independence of the Confederacy had been recognized.

VALLANDIGHAM'S PLAN FOR RESTORING THE UNION

I believe it possible to rebuild the edifice so that it shall be grander, more glorious, and more powerful than even as our fathers erected it. [Cheers.]

What Vallandigham regarded as a grander and more glorious Union than that which our fathers erected, we may infer from his plan proposed in 1860, of dividing the Union into four sections: the States east of and including Pennsylvania to form one section, "The North;" the States thence west to the Rocky Mountains to form another, "The West;" the slave States to form "The South," and the Pacific States to form the Pacific section. Each of these sections should vote separately, and the vote of all should be necessary to any act or election. This would be a practical dissolution of the Union into four confederacies. It was Calhoun's plan for enabling the minority to rule the majority.

SENATOR RICHARDSON'S SLANDERS

Senator Richardson, of Illinois, spoke at Bryan Hall on Friday evening, August 26th. We extract from the *Times* the following:

To re-elect Mr. Lincoln is to accept four years more of war, four years more of trouble, of disaster, of woe, of lamentations, of ruin to the country. [Applause] To defeat Mr. Lincoln to accept the nominee of the Chicago Convention [cheers] is to bring peace and harmony and concord and union to these States. [Loud applause.]

But these Republicans say they would be very much disgraced if they were to propose terms of settlement with rebels with arms in their hands. *These people with arms in their hands are the very people I want to settle with. I am not afraid of a man if he has no arms.*

RICHARDSON CALLS OUR SOLDIERS HIRELING HESSIANS

Fellow-citizens, I ask you to turn back in history and tell me where it was that ever hired soldiers conquered a peace. When the Goth and Vandal overran Rome, and the people turned out from motives of patriotism and love of country, they drove them back. For a hundred years the Goth and Vandal attempted to overrun Rome. But after a while the people became enervated, and they hired, as we are hiring now, the soldier to fight their battles, and they were

conquered. I might run this parallel through history, but I will give but one other example. During the American Revolution, when the people of England desired to prevent this country from sepaating from them, and when they turned out their own people into the army they took Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, the Chesapeake, and in fact the entire coast. But when the feeling changed towards us, and the King of England was compelled to hire Hessians to come here and fight us, we whipped them. You cannot win victories with hired soldiers. They must be moved by a higher motive and purer patriotism than the mere love of the dollar they receive for their services.

The gallant and patriotic soldiers of the Union are here defamed as "hireling Hessians;" their defeat predicted and desired, and the triumph of the rebels taken for granted, "Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh." At the very moment this old rebel sympathizer was proclaiming that the rebellion could not be subdued, one-half of it had been crushed, and the residue was tottering, notwithstanding the aid and comfort given to the insurgents by such men as the speaker.

DEWITT, OF NEW YORK, STIGMATISES THE BRAVE POTOMAC ARMY

Mr. Dewitt, of New York, addressed a crowd from the balcony of the Sherman House:

Speaking of the achievements of our armies, the speaker said, when that grand army that had crossed the Rapidan under Gen. Grant had failed, what could be expected of an army of conscripts, hirelings and negroes? [Cheers and cries of "Nothing."] Men taken from new emigrants just arrived upon our soil; men torn unwillingly from their homes and forced into the ranks, and untutored Africans—those were the men before Richmond and Petersburg, and what could be expected of them, when a grand army of chosen men had failed to accomplish good.

A HISSING REPTILE

S. S. Cox, who is known to be the most intimate and confidential friend of Geo. B. McClellan, among political men, and next to Belmont, the leading wire-puller for his nomination, made the following speech, as reported in the Chicago *Times*:

Senator Cox being introduced, said he did not want to use any harsh language towards Old Abe. [Cries of "give it to him."] He had attempted in his own city, a few weeks since, to show, in a very quiet way, that Abraham Lincoln had deluged the country with blood, created a debt of four thousand millions of dollars, sacrificed two millions of human lives, and filled the land with grief and mourning.

A pious man, who had listened attentively to his remarks, sang out, "G—d d——n him." He did not agree with his pious friend. He hoped God would have mercy on Abraham

Lincoln, but at the November election, the people would damn him to immortal infamy. [Immense cheering.]

One of our friends, Judge Hall, had been arrested in Missouri a short time since, because he happened to say that Jefferson Davis was no greater enemy to the Constitution than Lincoln. He (the speaker) would say it boldly; let them arrest him. [Cheers and cries, "they dare not."]

The speaker concluded by recapitulating the infamous actions of the President; showed how he had exercised fraud to overpower and defeat the purposes of loyal people, and said Republicans, Wade and Davis, not Democrats, were his accusers. He exhorted the people to join in the grand determination to remove the despot from the place which he was unfit to fill.

The report of the Chicago *Tribune* adds the following:

For less offenses than Mr. Lincoln had been guilty of, the English people had chopped off the head of the first Charles. In his opinion, Lincoln and Davis ought to be brought to the same block together. The other day they arrested a friend of his, a member of Congress from Missouri, for saying, in private conversation, that Lincoln was no better than Jeff. Davis. He was ready to say the same now here in Chicago. Let the minions of the Administration object if they dare.

He asked, did they want the whole country mortgaged for the freedom of the negro?

He would be entirely willing to mortgage the whole country to pay Jeff. Davis's debt incurred in securing the slavery of the negro.

If this war was to continue four years longer, where would we bring up?

He might have asked, if this war should continue *one* year longer, where would the Rebels bring up?

STAMBAUGH PREFERS DISUNION TO THE FREEDOM OF SLAVES

Mr. Stambaugh, a delegate from Ohio, said, "that if he was called upon to elect between the freedom of the nigger and disunion and separation, *he should choose the latter.* [Cheers.] Bayonets and cannon, and above all, negro emancipation, cannot conquer a permanent peace." His plan for the solution of these difficulties was an armistice, and an arrangement for a joint convention, in which to talk over and arrange all family grievances. He was certain that in Ohio the entire community were in favor of peace.

HE ADVOCATES REPUDIATION

One reason why the Democrats should support the candidate of the Convention, whoever he might be, was, that they might search hell over and they could not find a worse President than Abraham Lincoln. When this war is over, he would not give a pinch of snuff for the 5.20s and the 10.40s now hoarded by the rich.

JUDGE ALEXANDER WANTS AN ARMISTICE

Judge Alexander, of Kentucky, was then introduced. After a few introductory remarks,

he said, "was the Constitution to be restored by the party in power? [Cries of 'No, no.'] Was it to be restored by a continuance of the war? [Cries of 'No.'] Since they could not do it by shedding blood, he would ask, how were they to obtain peace? They had tried the bayonet and failed, and they would now try the ballot, because with it they would drive out Lincoln and his minions. In order to stop the war they must have an armistice, to be followed by a convention of all the States. No war had ever been settled except by compromise, from the time [in] which Moses fought the Amalekites down to the present day. If they did not believe this, then they must believe that the physical powers were superior to the mental powers, and if such were the case, then they had better leave the abode of civilization and go forth to the wild prairies to live. [Cheers.] He could tell them that Kentucky would stand by the nominee of the Convention. [Loud and prolonged cheering.] He felt assured that the proper platform would be submitted, and would contain a plan for an armistice and a convention of States. Then their grief and sorrows would pass away, and the people would cry 'Let us have peace.' " [Cheers.] He concluded by relating a couple of anecdotes which created much laughter. One of them had reference to the opinion of a Kentucky gentleman who thought that as Mr. Lincoln was so fond of the negro, he should have one of the slain ones skinned and made into a pair of moccasins for his daily wear.

COL. CARR ON BUCHANAN AND LINCOLN

Col. Carr was then introduced. He said he considered this one of the proudest days in American history. Between three and four years ago the Republican party had met to nominate a person for President, and selected a citizen of Illinois. It was not the first time a king had been deposed and a fool put in his place. In former times, kings had kept fools to keep from wearying, but this was the first country that had elected a fool to reign over it. [Cheers and laughter.]

SATURDAY, *August* 27.

The Chicago *Times* says, of the meetings held on Saturday evening, which were largely attended as well by the peace sympathizers and "plug uglies" of the whole country, as by those curious to hear what the friends of peace with the rebels, and war with the Government, had to say:

The demonstration last night was not a meeting merely; it was a whole constellation of meetings. The grand centre of the city—Randolph, Clark, Washington, and La Salle streets, in the vicinity of the Court House—and the Court House Square, presented one solid mass of human beings. And these were independent of the crowds that had assembled in other parts of the city—in the Democratic Invincible Club Hall, in Bryan Hall, and in the remote streets. From 7 until 10 o'clock, there were continual, unbroken columns pouring from all directions towards the Court House, and the adjacent thoroughfares.

During the entire evening there were, at all times, five speakers holding forth to thousands of assembled citizens, and almost within the sound of each other's voices. The number of people composing the grand nucleus of the entire assemblage, was at no time during the evening estimated at less than forty thousand, even by the most scrupulous.

THE OLD THREAT

Hon. H. S. Orton, of Wisconsin, repeats the old Southern threat—"Elect us or we'll split you:"

The fanaticism of the North conjoined with the fanaticism of the South has run its course, and it is for us, the conservative masses of the United States, to say whether it shall longer prevail, or whether the Government, the Constitution and the Union shall be preserved and resume their sway. On this Convention and the one to follow it, hangs the fate of this great Republic. Bear it in mind and recollect it well and solemnly that on these Conventions rests the fate of this Union. And what is involved in that? To an American everything—life, property, all the endearments of home and society—everything that Americans hold dear.

In Wisconsin Lincoln has no party left, except himself and his officers and satraps—that is all there is left of them. I pledge you my word it is all that is left in the State of Wisconsin—the collectors of the revenue, the assessors and their dependents, are all the strength that Abe Lincoln has in these free States. And they are to rule over us. Are you going to submit to it? [Cries of "No."]

Like Mark Antony over the dead body of Caesar he "would not stir up their minds and hearts to sudden mutiny:"

I do not countenance forcible resistance to any law. I am an advocate of law. In 1860, I did not have the honor to vote for that great and good man whose spirit now rests in God, Mr. Douglas [Cheers.]; but I voted for Bell and Everett, and to-day I don't know which of them is the best off. Bell has gone over to the secessionists, and Everett has gone over to the abolitionists, and I am without candidates to-day, and I don't know which of them has gone into the worst company. [Laughter and cheers.]

Neither he nor the South will return to the old Union if slavery is destroyed:

You want the Constitution, the rights of the States, and a return of the old Union. Where is the old Union? A schoolboy's tale, the wonder of an hour! We want a return to it with the Constitution, but not otherwise. After every right established by our fathers was broken down and destroyed would I return to it? Or would the South return it?

Resistance to the draft will save slavery—save the South—and set the sun, moon and stars back to the firmament once more.

Now is the time to return to the right path. Under the pressure of the draft—and God bless the draft, it is the best argument that has ever been addressed to the American people. It proves that we have touched bottom, we have got a realizing sense that we have got nearly to the last ditch, the last man, and the last dollar. Under the pressure of the time stop and save your Government; for if it is gone now it is gone forever, and there is a future of darkness and gloom. The stars of heaven are blotted out, the moon will refuse to shine, the sun will rise no more in the fair firmament of the American Republic!

WHAT YOUNG MORRIS KETCHUM SAID

Young Ketchum of New York, son of the pro-slavery banker, had no confidence in Democratic principles or professions, and said:

Now, gentlemen, we want our man for two reasons. In the first place the people of the city of New York are sick of platforms. We have not had a platform for eight years given to us by either side which has been maintained after its adoption. And though we approve of the motto, "principles, not men," yet we feel that we have been so often deceived that we now want a man who shall be a principle in himself, and whose principles we are willing to support. We want to elect a man who will say to the South, "Come back, we will restore to you every Constitutional privilege, every guarantee that you ever possessed; your rights shall no longer be invaded; we will wipe out the emancipation proclamation; we will sweep away this confiscation act; all that we ask of you is to come back and live with us on the old terms. We are both tired and weary, and want to live together again."

But suppose the rebels refuse to come back on any terms—they have a million times declared they never would voluntarily return. What then? Has all the fighting to be done over again? Young Ketchum was candid enough to state the consequence of allowing the Union to be divided. He said:

"This Union must and shall be preserved." God Almighty set the seal of Union on this land when he poured the mighty waters of that great river through this valley of the Mississippi down to the Gulf of Mexico. This was his seal that the land should never be divided. You may separate to-morrow and recognize them as an independent nation, but let me tell you that before five or ten years have rolled over your heads, you would have the same war, bloody, bitter, and everlasting as now.

This is what Ketchum said. Now listen to what Jeff. Davis says. In this late conversation with Col. Jacques* and James R. Gilmore,† he said:

I tried all in my power to avert this war. I saw it coming, and for *twelve years* [it was not Lincoln then, that caused the war,] I worked night and day to prevent it, but I could not. The North was mad and blind; it would not let us govern ourselves, and so the war came, and now it must go on, till the last man, of this generation falls in his track, and his children seize his musket and fight his battles, unless you acknowledge our rights of self-government. *We are not fighting for slavery. We are fighting for independence—and that or extermination we will have.*

What good will "wiping out the emancipation proclamation,"

*James H. Jaquess—Col. 73d Illinois.
†"Edmund Kirke."

and "sweeping away the confiscation act" effect towards a restoration of the Union?

But tell me, said Davis, are the terms you have named—emancipation, no confiscation, and universal amnesty—the terms which Mr. Lincoln authorized you to offer us?

No, sir: replied Col. Jacques, Mr. Lincoln did not authorize me to offer you any terms. But I think both he and the Northern people, for the sake of peace, would assent to some such conditions.

But, replied Mr. Davis, amnesty, sir, applies to criminals. We have committed no crime. Confiscation is of no account unless you can enforce it. And emancipation! You have already emancipated nearly a million of our slaves—and if you will take care of them, *you may emancipate the rest.* I had a few when the war began. I was of some use to them; they never were of any to me. Against their will you emancipated them, and *you may emancipate every negro in the Confederacy, but we will be free!* We will govern ourselves. We will do it if we have to see every Southern plantation sacked, and every Southern city in flames.

Well, sir, said Col. Jacques, be that as it may, if I understand you, the dispute between your Government and ours is narrowed down to this: Union or disunion.

Yes; or to put it otherwise: independence or subjugation.

Then the two Governments are irreconcilably apart. They have no alternative but to fight it out.

BITTER DENUNCIATION OF THE PRESIDENT— ENCOURAGEMENT TO REBELS

Mr. Romeyn, of New York said:

Mr. Lincoln has violated, the rights of the States and the sacred rights of man. He proposes to liberate the slaves of the South and turn them upon the North to live in idleness and vagrancy, and become paupers and burdens to society. He refuses to allow the Southern States their constitutional rights even if they returned to the Union. The South will never submit to such terms, nor would the North under similiar circumstances.

What constitutional right did the "South" not enjoy before secession? Is it a violation of the rights of the States for the President to enforce the Constitution and the laws?

REED OPPOSES THE DRAFT

Hon. James H. Reed, of Indiana, opposes the draft:

He advocates the policy of making an immediate call upon the President to withhold the order for this draft. If a refusal came to such an appeal, then would the President be damned to eternal infamy and, if the draft should be so suspended then the people voting upon it would, by ten to one, declare against it. The will of the people is declared for peace, and, in this declaration there is nothing tending to folly, inasmuch as in the coming election they intend to oust the incumbents of office, and to inaugurate a rule which will bring peace and prosperity once more to this land.

Reed says the rebels are not rebels, but have already established their independence:

No longer could we term the war a war of rebellion. Treated as belligerents, with the courtesies of a public enemy, the people of the South have ceased to be in arms as rebels, and have established themselves as a government. To maintain the power thus established, unless a course of conciliation were opened to them, they would exert every effort.

The Chicago *Times* thus introduces its report of Rynders' speech:

THE INVINCIBLE CLUB

At an early hour in the evening the hall of the Democratic Invincible Club, corner of Clark and Monroe streets, was filled with a most enthusiastic audience to listen to an address on the great questions of the day by Captain Isaiah Rynders, the well-known President of the Empire Democratic Club of New York.

This Club, composed of the New York fighting men and "shoulder-hitters," was organized to decide who should speak and vote. Before the Metropolitan Police existed in New York, its business was to bully moderate citizens away from the polls, to enable paid voters to "vote early and often," to send reinforcements of voters to weak points of the Democratic line, whether in Maine, Connecticut, or Pennsylvania, It not only prevented Garrison and Phillips from speaking in New York City, but shut the mouths of bolting Democrats, and exercised a general mob censorship over free speech. For these services Buchanan made him United States Marshal, or slave catcher, for the Southern District of New York. He performed the duties of his office to the satisfaction of the Administration, by conniving at if not personally assisting in the very active slave trade then being carried on by "Democratic" slave merchants in the city of New York, between the African coast and Charleston.

The chairman of the Invincible Club introduced him in the following terms:

He had now much pleasure in introducing to the meeting Captain Isaiah Rynders, [cheers] —a gentleman who had done such good service in the cause of Democracy. [Loud Applause.]

Captain Rynders, forgetting his old trade of driving public speakers from their platforms, now favors free speech:

A great crisis existed, and the Democratic party had been called once more to save the country from the impending danger that now threatened it, and they would do it. [Loud cheers] He had heard at that meeting an allusion to the people of the South, and he would take the opportunity of stating that it was his intention to make a free speech this evening, for he was in the land of Douglas. [Great applause.]

DENIES THAT THE REBELS ARE TRAITORS

After three years of despotism he stood before them a free man—before a free people. With reference to the remark which he had just referred to he would now speak after the digression he had just made. It was a remark he did not approve of. He had heard one of the speakers state that the people of the South were traitors, which were harsh words, as the people of the South were as brave and chivalrous a people as were ever put on this earth. [Cheers.] He had regretted that they took the step they did for the settlement of their grievances, for they had great grievances. He was sorry they took these steps, and his advice was to stay in the Democratic party, and they would right their grievances. They, however, seemed to think differently, and he was sorry for it. Never had one word come from his lips against them, and he hoped his lips would be sealed when he did injustice to a brave, noble, and chivalrous people. [Applause.]

SUFFERING BRETHREN IN CAMP DOUGLAS

The abolitionists now thought more of the colored man than the free white man of the East. They could not see the white man suffering from want and destitution, but they have to look to the colored man of Alabama and Louisiana. They could see them, but not the misery of the white man. They could not look to Camp Douglas nor to Fort Lafayette, and see white men languishing in bondage. [Cheers.] They have no sympathies for these men, because, in the celebrated language of the clergyman at Beaufort, "he invariably has a white skin."

He next alluded in withering terms to Lincoln's apology to the Emperor Napoleon relative to the resolution which passed the House of Representatives regarding the carrying out of the Monroe doctrine.

Rynders was not then aware that the Democracy had already been passed over to Belmont, the Rothschilds, and the other holders, not only of Jeff. Davis's debt, but of Maximilian's, and that their platform would repudiate the Monroe doctrine altogether.

MONDAY, AUGUST 29.

The Convention was called to order by August Belmont, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, financial agent

of the Rothschilds, and the representative, in that capacity, of the Confederate debt. He represents the money that pays the rebel armies. He said:

In your hands rests, under the ruling of an all-wise Providence, the future of this Republic. Four years of misrule, by a sectional, fanatical, and corrupt party have brought our country to the very verge of ruin.

Where he says "country," the people will of course read "rebellion and Confederate bonds:"

The past and present are sufficient warning of the disastrous consequences which would befall us if Mr. Lincoln's re-election should be made possible by our want of patriotism and unity. The inevitable results of such a calamity must be the utter disintegration of our whole political and social system, amidst bloodshed and anarchy, with the great problems of liberal progress and self-government jeopardized for generations to come.

He thinks the cause of the rebellion was the failure of the northern Democrats to agree with their southern brethren.

Let us at the very outset of our proceedings bear in mind that the dissensions of the last Democratic Convention was one of the principal causes which gave the reins of government into the hands of our opponents, and let us beware not to fall again into the same fatal error.

He tells them to sacrifice all their honest convictions, if they have any, but says nothing about "Confederate bonds."

We must bring at the altar of our country the sacrifice of our prejudices, opinions, and convictions, however dear and long cherished they may be, from the moment they threaten the harmony and unity of action so indispensable to our success.

He nominated for temporary chairman, Mr. Buchanan's shadow, and the defender of the rights of the rebellion and anti-coercionism in the Senate of 1860—Hon. William Bigler, of Pennsylvania.

He said:

The termination of Democratic rule in this country was the end of peaceful relations between the States and the people.

In other words, when the Democratic party, though grown so sectional that it could hardly carry a single free State, still carried the general election, the Republican party submitted. But when

the Democratic party was beaten, it rebelled, and went in for a free fight in every State which it controlled. Well may Democrats boast that with the end of their power ended peace, if they themselves made the overthrow of their power a cause of rebellion.

LONG'S ANTI-DRAFT RESOLUTION

Mr. Long, of Ohio, offered the following resolution:

Resolved. That a committee composed of one member from each State represented in this Convention, to be selected by the respective delegations, thereof, be appointed for the purpose of proceeding forthwith to the city of Washington, and, on behalf of this Convention and the people, to ask Mr. Lincoln to suspend the operation of the pending draft of 500,000 more men until the people shall have an opportunity, through the ballot-box in a free election—uninfluenced in any manner by military orders or military interference—of deciding the question, now fairly presented to them, of war or peace, at the approaching election in November; and that said committee be and they are hereby instructed to urge upon Mr. Lincoln, by whatever argument they can employ, to stay the flow of fraternal blood, at least so far as the pending draft will continue to augment it, until the people, the source of all power, shall have an opportunity of expressing their will for or against the further prosecution of the war in the choice of candidates for the Presidency.

Which was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Convention having previously determined to nominate Gen. McClellan for President, who is the father to the idea of filling our armies by conscription, dared not say anything in their platform on the subject. The above resolution was therefore smothered, and the question dodged.

The following extract feebly shows how exclusively Vallandigham was the hero of the Convention. He could not even rise in his seat without being greeted by the shouts of his peace worshippers.

Mr. Vallandigham rose, and was greeted with loud and prolonged cheering and cries "Take the platform." He finally stepped to the platform, and merely gave notice that the Committee on Resolutions would meet in the evening at 8 o'clock, at the rooms of the New York delegation in the Sherman House. [Immense cheering.]

The Convention then adjourned until 10 o'clock following morning.

We quote from the addresses delivered during the evening in front of the Sherman House:

Hon. W. W. O'Brien, of Peoria, proposes to try Lincoln and hang him.

Mr. O'Brien accused the administration of attempting to gag the press, putting down trial by jury, and suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*. But when Abraham Lincoln retired from the Presidential chair they would renew trial by jury, and try him for the offences he had committed against the laws and the Constitution. He would be provided with counsel, and protected by good democratic lawyers. [Cheers.] They would try him as Charles I was tried in England, and the verdict of the jury might be the same, that he had been found guilty of being a tyrant and a traitor. Whatever they would do would be under the law, and if they found him guilty they would find men to carry out the law. [Cheers.]

To-morrow they were going down to the Convention to nominate a true Democrat, who, on the 4th of March, would apply his boot to "Old Abe's" posterior and kick him out of the Presidential chair. [Great laughter.] They were going to make a platform, and if George B. McClellan—[enthusiastic cheering, again and again resumed]—or any other other gentleman was ready to stand on it, he would be nominated and elected, for they were to be united. The South would then join hands, and the glorious Union would again be restored. [Cheers.]

[Loud cries for Mr. Vallandigham and Governor Seymour were only silenced by the statement that those gentlemen were both engaged in constructing the platform.]

Mr. Van Alen would not fight to put down the rebellion, but is ready to fight the Government.

Mr. John J. Van Alen, of New York, next gave voice for peace. As for the peace sentiment, he proclaimed, Let her run. War is disunion. War could never produce peace. It was impossible to subjugate eight millions of people, and it ought not to be done if it could be done. It would require another Government to do it. Let us have a platform clear on this issue. It is the only one we can all stand upon—it is the only one that can take us out of the difficulties that surround us. But it will require something more than talking. He would not fight in this war, but if necessary to assert the principles of the Constitution, he was a fighting man. It seemed to his mind, that the people of this country had been mad the last four years. The great mistake was that the Democracy did not resist the war from the beginning . She would retrace her steps, and finally triumph. He would not have a candidate WITH THE SMELL OF WAR ON HIS GARMENTS.

MR. [VAN] ALEN'S ADMISSION

Another report contains the following:

I do not want a man nominated whose nomination will oblige me when I make a two hours' speech, to spend one hour and a half in explanations. We propose to go the country on definite charges against the party in power. One of these is "arbitrary arrests." George B. McClellan ordered the most high-handed one that has been made since the war began. We propose to go to the country on the charge of suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. This was recommended by George B. McClellan. We propose to go into the campaign bearing the olive branch of peace. George B. McClellan recommended drafting soldiers, and still wears Abe Lincoln's shoulder straps, and since being relieved from active service to which he would gladly return, he said at West Point, that too much blood had been shed, too much treasure

expended, to stop the war now. With him we can make no point on the disturbance of the social relations of the country. With him we must drop the doctrine of State sovereignty. For two years he labored to coerce States. IN FACT, GENTLEMEN, THE NOMINATION OF GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN QUASHES THE ENTIRE INDICTMENT WHICH WE HAVE DRAWN AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION. [Great cheering.]

Hon. Mr. Curtis, of New York, said:

I trust the day will never come when the scenes witnessed in the Commonwealth of Kentucky—a State rendered glorious by the associations of the past—will be enacted on this soil—when the Administration will endeavor by force of arms to interfere with the free sentiment and free will of the people. But if that day should come, before God and in sight of Heaven, I would invoke the aid of counter revolution. [Loud cheering.] A people who would submit to that degree of outrage and tyranny which destroys the charter of their liberties—(to wit, to be required to swear allegiance to the United States before voting in a State claimed to belong to the confederacy)—are not fitted to live and stand up as men but should lie down and die as slaves. [Cheers, and cries of "Good."] I warn the Government now in power not to trample too far upon the liberties which are left to us; for if they do, they will be swept before a storm as a ship is swept from the sea in a storm. [Cheers.]

John Fuller, of Michigan, characterizes the war for the Union as

This unholy, cruel, and abominable struggle. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, are you willing longer to submit to this state of things? [Cries of "No."] Our land is already wet with fraternal blood. Our press has been shackled, the liberty of speech has been suppressed, the writ of *habeas corpus* has been suspended, and he who dared to raise his voice against arbitrary and unconstitutional acts has been arrested by the minions of the Government, and incarcerated in dungeons or banished from his native land. [Cheers.] Are you willing, I again ask, to bear these hardships and to submit to this tyranny and oppression? [Renewed cries of "No, no!"] Are you willing to follow in the footsteps of Abraham Lincoln, the perjured wretch who has violated the oath he took before high heaven to support the Constitution and preserve the liberties of the people? [Cheers.]

Mr. G. C. Sanderson says the Union cannot be restored by war.

Fellow-citizens, what say you? Is it not time that this infernal war should stop? [Voices —"Yes."] Has not there been blood enough shed? Has there not been property enough destroyed? Have we not all been bound, hand and foot, to the abolition car, that is rolling over our necks like the wheels of another Juggernaut? We all love our country. There is nothing would rejoice us more than to see the stars and stripes, the glorious emblem of our Union, reestablished all over this country, but it ought to be done by concession and compromise. [Applause. A voice—"That is the doctrine."] It must not be by a further shedding of blood. It cannot be. [A voice—"It will never be done by blood."] We must have peace. Peace is our motive; nothing but peace. If the Southern Confederacy by any possibility, be subjugated by the abolition administration, the next thing they would turn their bayonets on the free men of the North and trample you in the dust.

Hon. James H. Birch, of Missouri, thinks re-union may be impossible even by peace measures.

His hopes and prayers were that such a union might even yet be practicable, but if it be found to be otherwise—if the conflict of interest or of passion has been rendered really "irrepressible" by the iniquities of the party in power, and it shall be so adjudged by the same competent authority which ordained our present Constitution, let not the blame of it be attached to the Democratic party. But if the country is doomed to become permanently divided, it will be recorded in history, that it was not the fault of the Democracy, whether in the inception or the prosecution of the measures which have led and are yet leading to so saddening an alternative

That's cool, after the Democracy have permanently destroyed the Union, they are not be to held responsible for it, but rather to be glorified for the deed!

C. Chauncey Burr, a prominent New York Democrat, editor of *The Old Guard*, prayed God that the rebels might never be subdued.

In addressing the audience Mr. Burr spoke substantially as follows: He did not expect to make a speech as the time for speech-making was past. Argument was useless, and the time for action had come. He would speak with that freedom which had been the wont of the people of America for the last three years. During that time, spies and informers had been on the track of the people, and, in point of fact, we had lived under a despotism worse than that of Austria. The people had submitted to that despotism, not because of a want of courage, bravery, or pluck, but because they were a law-and-order people. They had patiently waited for a change in the policies of Lincoln's administration, but it had been denied them; and for nearly four years they had submitted to these acts of despotism. And it was a wonder that they had a Cabinet and men who carried out the infamous orders of the gorilla tyrant that usurped the Presidential chair. In New Jersey they had shifted the responsibility of these despotic acts to the shoulders of the Abolitionists, and more than one Provost Marshal had a hole made through his head. In that State, it was a difficult matter at one time to find an Abolitionist who would accept such a position, and the Administration had tried to bribe Democrats, but, thank God, they had failed. But they had well nigh reached the end of their reign of despotism. They could and should not go any further. They were about to be swept from the land by an indignant people. They talked about a rebellion down South, but a greater rebellion had been in progress in the North.

The question as to what should be done with those States had been asked a hundred times since he came to Chicago. He could not answer the question. Those States did not belong to him. They did not belong to Lincoln. We had no right to burn their wheat fields, steal their pianos, spoons or jewelry. Mr. Lincoln had stolen a good many thousand negroes, but for every negro he had thus stolen, he had stolen ten thousand spoons. It had been said that if the South would lay down their arms, they would be received again into the Union. The South could not honorably lay down her arms, for she was fighting for her honor.

Two millions of men had been sent down to the slaughter pens of the South, and the army

of Lincoln could not again be filled, neither by enlistments or conscription. If ever he uttered a prayer, it was that no one of the States of the Union should be conquered and subjugated. They had tried for three years to whip the seceding States back into the Union, but from the way the war had been conducted, they were more like to whip us.

We were told that we would conquer the rebellious States. They could not be conquered and he prayed God that they never might be. The Democratic party was for peace. Their Representatives had came to Chicago to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. He would be nominated on a peace platform, and they could not succeed on any other. If any other platform was adopted they deserved to be defeated.

The eloquent speaker was frequently and vociferously applauded during his speech of half an hour or more.

The Chicago *Times* says of the following speech of Henry Clay Dean:

His speech was one of peculiar bitterness, abounding with stubborn, irresistible, incontrovertible facts. It imparted enthusiasm to the audience, and blistered the souls of the republicans who had the courage to listen to it to the end.

REMARKS BY HENRY CLAY DEAN

He said in the presence of the face of Camp Douglas and all the satraps of Lincoln, that the American people were ruled by felons. Lincoln had never turned a dishonest man out of office or kept an honest one in. [A voice—"What have you to say of Jeff Davis?"] I have nothing to say about him. Lincoln is engaged in a controversy with him, and I never interfere between black dogs. [At this point in the speaker's remarks, an Abolition rowdy shouted "Dry up, you old tory," when there was a cry to put him out] Mr. Dean resumed: For over three years Lincoln had been calling for men, and they had been given. But with all the vast armies placed at his command, he had *failed! failed!!* FAILED!!! FAILED!!!! Such a failure had never been known. Such destruction of human life had never been known since the destruction of Sennacherib by the breath of the Almighty. And still the monster usurper wanted more men for his slaughter pens. [Loud cries of "he shan't have more.] The careful husbandman, in deadening the forest was always careful in preserving the young growth of timber, and in selecting his swine for the slaughter pen, he preserves the younger ones for future use. But the tyrant and despot who ruled this people to destruction paid no regard to age or condition. He desired to double the widowhood and duplicate the orphans. He blushed that such a felon should occupy the highest gift of the people. Perjury and larceny were written over him as often as was "one dollar" on the one dollar bill of the Bank of the State of Indiana. [Cries of "The Old villain."] The Democracy were for peace. The people were for peace, but the contractors, and army officers and satraps of the Administration wanted it not. [Great applause.] Ever since the usurper, traitor, and tyrant had occupied the Presidential chair, the Republican party had shouted war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt. Blood had flown in torrents, and yet the thirst of the old monster was not quenched. His cry was for more blood.

TUESDAY, *August* 30.

Horatio Seymour having taken his seat as permanent chairman, addressed the Convention in language more guarded than

that of many of the street speakers, but agreeing with them in venomous hate of the North, laying the blame of the war upon Northern Christianity, under the slang term, "fanaticism," and upon Mr. Lincoln as the representative of the Northern people, and having no word of fault to find with secession, rebellion, the rebel army, or the Confederate Government. He said:

They did not intend to destroy our country—they did not mean to break down its institutions. But unhappily they were influenced by sectional prejudices, by fanaticism, by bigotry, and by intolerance, and we have found in the course of the last four years that their animating sentiments have overruled their declarations and their promises, and swept them on, step by step, until they have been carried on to actions from which at the outset they would have shrunk away with horror. Even now, when war has desolated our land, has laid its heavy burdens upon labor, when bankruptcy and ruin overhang us, they will not have Union except upon conditions unknown to our Constitution; they will not let the shedding of blood cease, even for a little time, to see if Christian charity or the wisdom of statesmanship may not work out a method to save our country. Nay, more than this, they will not listen to a proposal for peace which does not offer that which this Government has no right to ask.

Gov. Seymour in his last remark, indicated that rebellion was no crime, involves no forfeiture of life or property, and that the "rights" of rebels are, to slaughter the defenders of the Union as long as they can, and when whipped, to resume their places by the side of faithful, loyal men, without loss or punishment.

COWARDLY SURRENDER TO THE REBELS

The following is the chief plank in the platform adopted. It is a demand for a cowardly and dishonorable surrender to the rebels. It is a false and shameful admission that the "North" is whipped; that the struggle to save the Union is a failure; that all the bloodshed, and money spent, must go for nought, and that the rebels shall dictate their own terms of peace. Here is the tory plank:

Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people. that after four years [not till May next,] of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, [a lie,] and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, [another lie,] and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that IMMEDIATE EFFORTS BE MADE FOR A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES, with a view

to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable, means, to the end, that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal States.

On this pusillanimous platform Gen. George B. McClellan was placed as the Presidential standard-bearer of the "peace sneaks."

SPEECH OF HARRIS, OF MARYLAND

The name of General McClellan having been placed in nomination before the Convention, and before the vote was taken, Mr. Harris, member of Congress from Maryland, and a delegate to the Convention, arose and said: (Quoted from the Chicago *Times*.)

We Democrats of Maryland have been oppressed, as you know. All our rights have been trampled upon, and the strong arm of the military has been over us as it rests upon us now, as it was instituted by your nominee, General McClellan. [Confusion, applause and hisses, mainly from the galleries.] Admit the fact that all our liberties and rights have been destroyed, and I ask, you in the name of common sense, in the name of justice, in the name of honor, will you reward the man who struck the first blow? [Applause and hisses.] From the indications I see here to-day, I have reason to fear that the man who has been in the front of this usurpation, [Gen. McClellan] will be the successful candidate.

GEN. M'CLELLAN THE FIRST USURPER

I claim it as a right to state that one of the men whom you have nominated, is a tyrant. [Hisses and cheers.] General McClellan was the very first man who inaugurated the system of usurping State rights. [Uproar.] This I can prove, and I pledge myself, if you will hear me, to prove every charge in the indictment. And it is the duty of a jury, when a charge is made which is proven, to convict and not reward the offender. Maryland has been cruelly trampled upon by this man, and I cannot consent, as a delegate from that State, to allow his nomination to go unopposed. What you ask me to do is, in reality, to support the man who stabbed my own mother; and I for one—and I believe I speak for the whole delegation from Maryland—will never do it. We will never, never consent that the State of Maryland shall be so dishonored. What, is it a fact that you care nothing for the dishonor of a sovereign State? Is it really the case that you can consent that the man who overthrew liberty and crushed under foot the free insitutions of a State, shall receive reward instead of punishment for his tyranny? In old times, it was the doctrine that an injury done to one State, was an injury inflicted on all; and instead of rewarding the perpetrator of the injury, each State should come forward to resent it. Now you propose a reward in the shape of Presidential honors to the man who first set the iron heel of despotism upon my State.—*Chicago Tines Report.*

Mr. Harris then read from a newspaper, the following order of General McClellan, dated Sept. 12, 1861, for the

ARREST OF THE MARYLAND LEGISLATURE

Maj. Gen. N. P. Banks, U. S. A.

General—After a full consultation with the President, Secretaries of State, War, &c., it has been decided to effect the operation proposed for the 17th. Arrangements have been made to have a Government steamer at Annapolis to receive the prisoners and carry them to their destination.

Some four or five of the chief men in the affair are to be arrested to-day. When they meet on the 17th you will have everything prepared to arrest the whole party, and be sure that none escape.

It is understood that you will arrange with Gen. Dix and Gov. Seward, the *modus operandi*. It has been intimated to me that the meeting might take place on the 14th; please be prepared. I would be glad to have you advise me frequently of your arrangements in regard to this very important matter.

If it is successfully carried out, it will go far towards breaking the back-bone of the rebellion. It will probably be well to have a special train quietly prepared to take the prisoners to Annapolis.

I leave this exceedingly important affair to your tact and discretion—the absolute necessity of secrecy and success.

With the highest regard, I am, my dear General, your sincere friend,

George B. McClellan, *Maj. Gen. U. S. A.*

Again Mr. Harris spoke: (Chicago *Tribune* Report.)

I am here for the purpose of presenting to the Convention, the character of the man whom you have nominated, and I wish you to hear his character and to know him as well as I do. [Cheers.] [Three cheers for Mac. being called for, they were given amidst a whirlwind of hisses.] Well, sir, that is a document by which George B. McClellan took up and arrested the Legislature of Maryland, a sovereign, State, met in order to thwart the tyranny and oppression of Abraham Lincoln, [Cries of "Show him up, show him up," "Go on, go on," to subvert and overturn those things that are the foundation and basis of our country. Where is the man who sympathizes with Maryland, who could go to the polls and vote for such a man? Why, Mr. President, how long do you suppose that these sons and representatives of Maryland were imprisoned in the bastiles of the United States? *For sixteen months* they were separated from their families, torn from their homes, kept from their business, and when at last their bars and bonds were loose, it was *in spite of the acts of him by whom they were placed there, of him, that devil McClellan.* [Great sensation, hisses and considerable cheering.] Well, sir, I look upon it that it not only struck at the liberties of Maryland and the freedom of the people, but at the existence of the Legislature of our State, and all the charges I can make against Lincoln and his Administration, I can make against this man McClellan. [Cheers.]

Another count in the indictment, there is the letter of October 29, 1861.

The speaker was here interrupted by so much disorder and rowdyism, that he was forced to suspend the reading of the letter for several minutes, the breach of order being so manifestly beyond reason.

Although the Convention had just adopted a platform claiming "freedom of speech" as one of its principles, the effort to sup-

press what Mr. Harris had to say was so fierce and boisterous, that it was not until he had knocked down one of the delegates from New York, and given distinct indications that he was armed and ready for a "free fight," after the manner of the chivalry, that he could secure a hearing. He proceeded:

GEN. M'CLELLAN INTERFERES WITH ELECTIONS IN MARYLAND, AND SUSPENDS THE HABEAS CORPUS

I now proceed to another count in the indictment. On October 29, 1861, he thus wrote to General Banks

"GENERAL: There is an apprehension amongst Union citizens in many parts of Maryland of attempted interference in the election to take place on the 6th of November next. In order to prevent this, the Major General commanding—(and who, gentlemen, was the Major General commanding but George B. McClellan?) The Major General commanding directs you to send a sufficient detachment to protect Union voters, and to see that nothing is allowed to interfere with their rights as voters."

[Here the speaker was interrupted with cries of "That's right." "Good! good" while vociferous cheers were given for General McClellan.]

Mr. HARRIS: I would have concluded long ago, Mr. President, except for interruptions that have been made by this assembly itself; and, certainly, you cannot take advantage of your own wrong, and prevent me proceeding. [The Speaker then read the remainder of the letter, which authorized General Banks, in order to prevent these alleged treasonable designs, to SUSPEND THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS:] Now, sir, who feared the disunionists of Maryland would ever interfere with the Unionists? With the power in the hands of the Administration, with the power in the hands of the Governor of Maryland, where in the name of God was it to be supposed, except in the mind of some hypocrite, that it was necessary for some military force to come into the State and suspend that great writ, the *Habeas Corpus*. [Cheers.] And why were these disunionists allowed to go at large till the day of election; said he, you must arrest them before going to the polls and you may discharge them after the election. [Cheers.] Why was this done? Why, if there was danger to the country in allowing these men to remain at large, were they not arrested till the day of election in the State by order of this Gen. McClellan? Those things that we have charged so frequently against Abraham Lincoln, HE, GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, HAS BEEN GUILTY OF HIMSELF. [Cheers and hisses.] Sir, he declares that, under the plea of military necessity—that tyrant's plea of military necessity—Abraham Lincoln has the power of abolishing one of the institutions of Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky; THE POWER OF ABOLISHING THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY—a great right that you consider yourselves bound to protect, and to protect Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, in protecting. [See his Harrison's Landing letter to the President.] Now, what have you to say to this charge against George B. McClellan. [Cheers and hisses.]

You have to meet them one way or another, for they will be made by our opponents, and it is better to hear them from a Democrat before the canvass commences. [Cheers.] What then have you to say in his favor? Why, as a military man, HAS HE BEEN DEFEATED EVERYWHERE? [Cries of "No, no," "yes, yes," and cheers.] The siege of Richmond was not, I think, a success; (ironically,) the battle of Antietam was not a success, and in him as a

military leader you have NOTHING WHATEVER TO BRAG OF, while you have combined with MILITARY INCAPACITY THE FACT THAT HE HAS INTERFERED WITH AND DESTROYED THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE. If Gen. McClellan, when Abraham Lincoln told him to arrest the Legislature of Maryland, had said to him, "I have received a commission as commander at your hands—you can take it back before I become a tyrant," he would have stood before the world as a MAN; but inasmuch as he received and acted upon instructions which struck a blow at civil liberty, he became the mere tool of Abraham Lincoln.

A McClellanite defends McClellan upon precisely the same grounds upon which every alleged arbitrary arrest made by the President may be defended, viz: suspected complicity with rebels. He proclaims that the Maryland Legislature were guilty of high treason in lending aid and comfort to the enemy, which is precisey the charge the Union masses of the North with equal grounds, make against the Chicago Convention.

Gen. G. W. Morgan, of Ohio, said:

At the time these arrests were ordered, the Maryland Legislature was in session at Annapolis, General Joseph Johnston was in command of the rebel army at Winchester. There was a conspiracy on foot, and the four or five persons here were the conspirators between Gen. Johnston and this Legislature to accomplish the invasion of Maryland. This Legislature was in communication with Gen. Joe Johnston, one of the best and most distinguished Generals of the Confederate army. The Legislature was to have passed an ordinance of secession—the gentleman knows the meaning of that term—they were to have withdrawn to the town of Frederick and there issued the ordinance of secession, and in direct and immediate concert with this ordinance, Johnston was to invade Maryland with an overwhelming force; and certain men in Maryland—the gentlemen can state best, were to have aroused the people of Maryland in arms against the sovereignty of the United States. George B. McClellan, then the Commander-in-chief of our armies, had he acted otherwise than he did, would have been guilty of treason himself.

A Democrat in defense of McClellan, is compelled to defend the right of the Government to prevent disunionists by military force from voting, which is the whole of the "grievances" against which the third resolution of their platform relative to military interference with elections in the United States is directed. What Morgan defends as right the platform declares to be "revolutionary, and will be resisted with all the means and power under the control" of the Democratic party. G. W. Morgan says:

The gentleman talks of troops being sent by George B. McClellan to suppress the liberty

of the ballot. Why, the very order itself states in distinct words that the object of the troops sent there was to protect the Union citizens who, it was feared, would be deprived of their right of a free vote by intimidation at the ballot-box.

In accordance with the laws of war these people who were guilty of direct communication with the enemy, and who invited the invasion of Maryland, by the laws of war, instead of being arrested would have been executed as spies; for such they were. They were communicating information to the enemy. They were guilty of high treason in furnishing the enemy with information, and against these men and the intended intimidation at the polls this order was given.

The same charge lies with equal force against the Chicago Convention. "Extra Billy" Smith, of Virginia, and other rebels from the rebel States, were present in communication with it on behalf of the enemy, and a motion was made to give them seats on the floor, which was only overruled because they had come without credentials.

ALEXANDER LONG, OF OHIO, DENOUNCES McCLELLAN

As a coercionist, a usurper, and an emancipationist, unworthy the support of the Democratic party. He says:

I have but a few words to say, and I propose to say them; and I am not afraid to speak what I think, even in the face of gentlemen who don't want to hear. I have faced the music before, and I am willing to do it here.

Now, gentlemen of the convention, what have we complained of for the last three or four years? What has been the burden of our complaint against Mr. Lincoln and his Administration? He has abridged the freedom of speech; he has arbitrarily arrested citizens and confined them in Bastiles, and he has interfered with the freedom of elections. What have you proposed in these resolutions? You have, to a certain extent, vindicated the freedom of speech; you have condemned arbitrary arrests and denounced interference with the freedom of elections; and yet you propose in George B. McClellan to place upon that platform ONE WHO HAS GONE FURTHER IN ALL THREE OF THESE MEASURES THAN HAS ABRAHAM LINCOLN HIMSELF. [Hisses and applause.] George B. McClellan has not contented himself with the arrest of a citizen here and there, and incarcerating him in a Bastile, but has arrested an entire Legislature at one order. HE HAS ALSO SUSPENDED THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS of which you have complained. He has acquiesced in the emancipation proclamation of which you have complained of Mr. Lincoln; and yet you propose, in the very face of the denunciations you have heaped upon the head of Mr. Lincoln, to stultify yourselves by taking up a man who has been a supple instrument of Mr. Lincoln for carrying out the very acts you denounce.

Then, gentlemen, is this what the people are to expect from a Democratic convention. [Voices—"No, no."] I trust not. Give us a candidate for President—ANY ONE EXCEPT GEORGE B. McCLELLAN—ANY MAN, I CARE NOT WHO HE IS—[applause and hisses]—ANY ONE WHOSE HANDS ARE CLEAN, whose skirts are clear—any one who has

not been instrumental in making arbitrary arrests; in violating the freedom of elections and the rights of citizens in every possible manner in which he could carry out the wishes of Abraham Lincoln.

In conclusion, I beg of you not to nominate McClellan. Having laid upon the table the time-honored principles of the Democratic party, as expressed in the resolution of 1798-99—having ignored them by laying the resolution on the table—and, WEAK AS YOUR PLATFORM IS, looking in some degree to peace, as it does, in God's name don't place upon it a man WHO IS PLEDGED TO EVERY ACT AGAINST WHICH YOUR PLATFORM DECLARES.

SPEECHES OUTSIDE THE CONVENTION

Mr. Mahoney, a Northern rebel, recommends rebellion, and says:

WE MUST GO TO THE SOUTH IF SHE WILL NOT COME TO US.

Mr. Mahoney, of Iowa, having lately represented that State in the Old Capitol Prison, was now introduced:

When rulers aggressed on popular rights he saw the remedy in opposing force to usurpation—the people themselves to be judge of the occasion, time, and manner of its application. He was in favour of peace; but few Democrats had the courage to so declare themselves. Tbe war affected all classes of people injuriously, except capitalist and placemen. He would have peace by all means. If the South would not come to us for peace, we should go to the South. We should not be discouraged by denials and failures; the Constitution of the United States was not all made at once. It had been amended in twelve particulars. He WOULD STILL FURTHER AMEND IT, to re-establish peace and union in permanency. He had enjoyed three months' reflection on these things under the heel of Abraham Lincoln, and he would have all join him in the unswerving resolve to submit to no new encroachments of tyranny.

Mr. Snow, of Washington city:

He (Mr. S.) predicted that, in view of the action of this convention, Lincoln would instantly become a peace man, to enable him to withdraw the armies from the field and employ them at the polls.

Hon. Mr. Early, of Nebraska:

He invoked his countrymen of the green island to use their power in this Government, and the shillalah, if necessary, against any invasion of the freedom of the ballot-box.

Hon. Wm. Weltz, of Pennsylvania, said:

In the present aspect of "the situation" the great question with us was, not so much what shall be done with southern rebels, but what shall be done for freemen of the North? [Much cheering.]

Capt. Isaiah Rynders, of New York, said, referring to those who had attacked McClellan in the Convention:

He wished he had these men in the Eighth Ward, New York, where he had a little influence. [Cheers.] He (Capt. Rynders) was a man of force, and he was what some people in New York called a Copperhead. He was proud of the name. [Cheers and laughter.] He could go anybody before Abraham Lincoln. They could get no peace from him, and he was for a free fight to turn him out, and they would do it. [Cheers and laughter.]

IN CONVENTION, WEDNESDAY, *August* 31.

A PLAN TO ASSEMBLE THE DEMOCRACY FOR THE "FREE FIGHT," OR NORTHERN REBELLION

Gov. Wickliffe, leader of the rebel wing of the Kentucky Copperheads, the largest slaveholder in Kentucky, and having three sons in the rebel army, said:

The delegations from the West, including that State to which I am attached, are of opinion that circumstances may occur between this and the 4th of March, that will make it necessary for the great mass of the Democracy of this country be to reassembled. To get up a new convention is a work of delay and much difficulty, and my object is, that the dissolution of this convention shall not be effected by its adjournment, after it finishes its labors to-day, but to leave it to the Executive Committee, and at the instance of the Democracy, if any occasion shall require, to convene us at such time and place that the Executive National Committee shall designate.

Resolved, That the convention shall not be dissolved by the adjournment at the close of its business, but shall remain as organized, subject to be called together at any time and place that the Executive National Committee shall designate.

Which resolution was received with much applause, and carried unanimously.

The convention having nominated McClellan, Clement L. Vallandigham moved to make the nomination unanimous. He was seconded by John McKeon, of New York, who gave notice that there was danger of a "revolution, a bloody revolution," which, of course, would be averted if the Copperheads should be allowed their own way. The threat sounded like those we heard from the present rebels in the canvass of 1860.

Pendleton, of Ohio, having been nominated for Vice President we will let him describe his own position in relation to the rebels. He made a speech in Congress on the 18th of January, 1861. He

afterwards carefully revised it, and had it published in the Appendix to the *Globe*. We quote from it the following passages:

My voice to-day is for conciliation; my voice is for compromise, and it is but the echo of the voice of my constituents. I beg you, gentlemen, who with me represent the Northwest; you who, with me, represent the State of Ohio; you who, with me, represent the city of Cincinnati, I beg you, gentlemen, to hear that voice. If you will not; IF YOU FIND CONCILIATION IMPOSSIBLE; IF YOUR DIFFERENCES ARE SO GREAT THAT YOU CANNOT OR WILL NOT RECONCILE THEM, THEN, GENTLEMEN, LET THE SECEDING STATES DEPART IN PEACE; LET THEM ESTABLISH THEIR GOVERNMENT AND EMPIRE, AND WORK OUT THEIR DESTINY ACCORDING TO THE WISDOM WHICH GOD HAS GIVEN THEM.

HE IS SOLICITOUS FOR A FREE FIGHT

I will tell you, my Republican friends, I know you have been pretty supercilious, you have been defiant, you have been outrageous; but I know I speak the heart and voice of the old war-worn Democracy when I say that next fall we intend to have a free election, free ballot, free assemblage together, or the freest fight that ever took place in this country. [Tremendous cheering.]

THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY

The following are specimen chips of the speechifying "hove in" at the ratification meeting held on Wednesday:

Mr. Sanderson said:

If Abe Lincoln was re-elected, he would free the negroes of the South, and then enslave the people. We must maintain STATE RIGHTS.

Judge Miller, of Ohio, said:

A bloody war has been waged to elevate the negro to an equality with the white man. There is no difference between a WAR DEMOCRAT AND AN ABOLITIONIST. THEY ARE BOTH LINKS IN THE SAME SAUSAGE, MADE FROM THE SAME DOG.

Mr. Rollins, of Missouri, said:

I love our southern friends. They are a noble, a brave and chivalrous people, although they are trying to break up the Government.

Mr. Hanna, of Indiana, was heavy on Ben Butler, and poured over his devoted head such venomous slime as this:

By whom was Lincoln supported? Prominent among his supporters is Butler, half devil, one-quarter beast and less than one-fourth human, begotten by the Prince of Hell, spewed from the rotten womb of crime, and thrown into the lap of civilization, deformed, unfinished wretch.

He was sent before his time into this breathing world, less than half made up, and is so hateful looking that the dogs bark at him as he passes by.

By G—d, we must have McClellan nominated. We must put a stop to this d——d war.—*Dean Richmond, of New York.*

The war is an unholy fight. Soon the net is to be drawn that will gather in its half million more to feed the insatiable thirst for blood of the Negro God. Let us demand a cessation of the sacrifice until the people shall pronounce their great and emphatic verdict for peace, and let the tyrant understand that the demand comes from earnest men and must be respected.—*McMasters, of New York.*

Mr. Johnston, claiming to be a Gospel-monger from Missouri, hinted strongly, at a Western Confederacy. He said:

If it shall be necessary in the settlement of our difficulties to allow a few stars to form a constellation by themselves, I think we can be just as safe, just as well protected, and just as free and happy under a Union of Republics as we have been under a Union of States. I want to see this whole continent bound together by a grand union of Republics. And we will have it, and will have peace and harmony, and self-government with it.

Let us hurl that usurper from power. Never till that day comes when the usurper and his victim meet at the judgment seat can he be punished for his wrongs, for his conspiracy against American liberty.—*Baker, of Michigan.*

What is this war for? The nigger. It is for the nigger against the white man. I think we don't want our bosoms stuffed so much with damned niggers this warm weather. I don't believe the negro is equal to the white man. Is it not high time that this infernal war was stopped? If the South could be subjugated by this infernal war, the bayonets would be turned against the North. Come weal or woe, we will be for the sovereignty of the States and individual rights.—*Mr. Sanderson, of Pa.*

I advise peace and harmony, but if in the struggle it reaches the point that the ballot-box is ever touched with sacrilegious hands, I say, then and there, come what will, let the lives and honor of all be pledged to the biggest fight the world ever saw.—*Bishop, of Michigan.*

No more arbitrary arrests will be permitted with impunity. No more Vallandighams will be dragged from the bosoms of their families, and spirited away to a foreign land or a dungeon, unless the attempt costs blood.—*Warren, of Rhode Island.*

Capt. Kuntz, of Pittsburgh, said:

Mr. Lincoln is a d——d thief and leader of thieves. Lincoln was now played out; the opposition to him was going to be bold and powerful; there must be no underhand work, and if Democrats catch any of Lincoln's b—y satrap spies among them, they must cut their d—d throats, that's all. I should like to see the noble George B. McClellan as President, [cheers] and that great Democrat, Horatio Seymour, should occupy the position of Secretary of State. In the Cabinet, I would see the name of Voorhees, and the brilliant galaxy of gentlemen statesmen who cluster round the Democratic banner.

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